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ABSTRACT

The medieval school came into existence after the fifth century to satisfy ecclesiastical demands for a minimum amount of literacy and scientific knowledge whereby young priests could learn to carry out priestly functions in the Church. During the course of the Middle Ages, the medieval school gradually changed its structure and function until the basis for modern education was laid. A number of elements appear in medieval education which have also appeared in traditional Jewish, Koranic, and Indian education--attention on oral learning and recitation, a mixing of age groups and a lack of gradation, and an emphasis on debate and argumentation. One important difference that emerges in medieval education versus modern education is the absence of the idea of childhood. Yet there is also, through time, an increasing interest in differentiation and separation, which led to 16th and 17th century notions of childhood, differentiation among age groups, gradation in subject matter, and in the classroom itself. This move toward distinguishing and separating laid the foundation of the modern system of education. The document illustrates these themes through two historical overviews emphasizing: (1) the ideals of the monastic schools; and (2) the development of the medieval university. (IS)

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Of Monks and Men:

Sacred and Secular Education in the Middle Ages

Susan Pollak

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Introduction

The Middle Ages was a time of both assimilation and repression. Through the conquest of the Roman world by Barbarian tribes, four factors influential in modern civilization-- the Greek, the Roman, the Christian, and the German-- came together in the early part of the sixth century. The following centuries fused these divergent elements into an organic whole. The classic literature and the Graeco-Roman schools were preserved, though in a diluted form, in the Christian educational institutions. Consequently, the medieval period was primarily not one of "progress," but of absorption. The watchword was authority and the conformity of the individual to social institutions. There was also a strong tendency to place the ideals of life in concrete and material form, as evidenced in the Gothic Cathedral. In many ways, this was both the genius of the medieval mind, as well as its conspicuous defect, as this crystallization through authority made individualism and the development of further ideals difficult.

This paper on traditional education in the Middle Ages, the fourth in a series of five essays on teaching and learning, is structured along similar lines, underlining the similarities between the traditions, as well as the differences. The paper begins with a discussion of the absence of the idea of childhood in the medieval period, then moves to an overview of the main themes in medieval education. Unlike the other essays, I have tried to incorporate examples from the art and literature of the time to illustrate salient points, as this gives a richer picture of the education of the times.

There are also two "cases" in this paper, one sacred and one secular. The first is an examination of the ideals of the monastic schools, while the second deals with the development of the university in the Middle Ages. As in the other papers, the focus is on the structure of education, the methods of teaching, the role of the texts, the relationship between master and student, as well as other subsidiary themes. Comparisons with the Jewish and Islamic traditions, when relevant, will be drawn in an attempt to connect the major themes of the various traditions.

The Child in Medieval Society

In medieval society, the idea of childhood did not exist. As Philippe Aries, in Centuries of Childhood, points out, this does not mean that children were neglected or forsaken, but that an awareness of the nature of childhood which distinguishes the child from the adult, was lacking. When the child could live without the constant attention of his mother or nanny, he was thought to be part of adult society. The language did not give the word 'child' the restricted meaning we give it today: people said child much as we say 'lad' or 'boy' in everyday speech. This absence of definition extended to social activities -- games, crafts, and arms.[1]

This attitude can be seen most clearly in medieval art, which until the twelfth century did not know childhood or did not attempt to portray it. Aries writes that it is hard to believe that this neglect was due to incompetence or incapacity; it seems more probable that there was no place for childhood in the medieval world.

> An Ottonian miniature of the twelfth century provides us with a striking example of the deformation which an artist at that time would inflict on children's bodies. The subject is the scene in the Gospels in which Jesus asks that little children be allowed to come to Him... Yet the miniaturist has grouped around Jesus what are obviously eight men, without any of the characteristics of childhood; they are simply depicted on a smaller scale.[2]

The discovery of childhood, Aries contends, began in the thirteenth century, but can be seen in art of the fourteenth century on, where we find in art, iconography and religion

"the personality which children were seen to possess, and the poetic, familiar significance attributed to their special nature." [3] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the child was given a special costume which marked him out from the adults. This specialization of the dress of children bears witness to a change in the general attitude toward children, a change which was apparent in the literature as well. In Moliere's La Malade Imaginaire, the following conversation takes place between Argan and the little Louison:

> 'Look at me, will you!' 'What is it,papa?' 'Here!' 'What?' 'Haven't you anything to tell me?' 'If you wish, I can tell you, to amuse you, the story of the Ass's Skin, or else the fable of the Fox and the Crow which I was taught not so long ago.' [4]

Aries sees this passage as representing a new concept of childhood, in which the child, because of his sweetness and simplicity, became a source of relaxation and amusement for the adult. On the other hand, because of the high infant mortality rate, little children did not "count". In Moliere's play, Argan thinks of sending his oldest daughter to a convent. His brother asks, "How is it, Brother, that rich as you are and having only one daughter, for I don't count the little one, you can talk of putting her in a convent? [5] The little girl was not included in in the conversation due to the probability of her death.

It was the task of mothers and nannies to look after the children. Aries cites a description of the nannie written in

the 1500's. "She rejoices when the child is happy, and feels sorry for the child when he is ill; she picks him up when he falls, she binds him when he tosses about, and she washes and cleans him when he is dirty." She also teaches the child to talk, "She pronounces the words as if she had a stammer, to teach him to talk better and more rapidly... she carries him in her hands, then on her shoulder, then on her lap. to play with him when he cries; she chews the child's meat for him when he has no teeth so that he can swallow profitably and without danger; she plays with the child to make him sleep and she binds his limbs to keep them straight so that he has no stiffness in his body, and she bathes and anoints him to nourish his flesh...[6] Thomas More wrote on the subject of the schoolboy being sent to school by his mother: " When the little boy will not rise in time for her, but lies still abed and slugg, and when he is up, weepeth because he hath lien so long, fearing to be beaten at school for his late coming thither, she telleth him that it is but early days, and he shall come time enough, and biddeth him:'Go, good son, I warrant thee, I have sent to thy master myself, take thy bread and butter with thee, thou shalt not be beaten at all.' Thus she sends him off sufficiently reassured so as not to burst into tears at the idea of leaving her at home, but she does not get to the bottom of the trouble, and the late arrival will be well and truly beaten when he gets to school.[7]

Medieval Education: An Overview

There was a radical break between the ideals of the Hellenistic school and the medieval school, which came into existence to satisfy ecclesiastical demands. Originally, the Church had "entrusted the secular school of the Hellenistic type with the literary education of its pupils, a literary education which was indispensible for the acquisition of sacred knowledge in a learned religion--as Christianity, the religion of the Book and its patristic commentaries, had rapidly become." [7] But after the fifth century, the Church no longer relied on this form of education, as it had decayed along with ancient culture. But as the priestly profession still demanded a minimun of knowledge: literary (for the liturgical texts), knowledge that one could term "scientific" (for the computation of Easter, etc), and musical (for the sacred hymns), it was necessary to organize the instruction of the young priests. Without this knowledge, the celebration of Mass and the distribution of the sacraments would have been impossible.

The instruction, which was of a professional or technical nature, was given in the Church. The students learned what they needed to know in order to sing the offices (the Psalms and the Canonic Hours) in Latin. Instruction was primarily oral and was addressed to the memory, similar to the instruction given at Koran schools. Aries writes:

> Anyone who has heard the alternating recitation of the verses of the Koran in the great mosque at Kairwan will have an idea of the medieval school, not only as

> it was in its distant sixth-century origins, but as it would remain, at least at its elementary level, for centuries. The pupils all chanted in unison the phrase spoken by the teacher, and they went on repeating the same exercise until they had learnt it by heart. The priests could recite nearly all the prayers in the office from memory in the event of forgetfulness. Henceforth reading was no longer an indispensible tool of learning. It only allowed them to 'recognize' what they had already knew and not to discover something new, with the result that the importance of reading was greatly reduced. 8

This specialized instruction was given in the cathedral churches, under the supervision of the bishops, but soon passed into the hands of their auxiliaries, who later became their rivals. The councils of the early Middle Ages also required the priests of the country churches to train their successors. Parish priests were not appointed as they are today by the bishop, but by a patron. In this system, Aries sees the "distant origins of the country school, an institution unknown to the ancient world." [9]

Rural education, in these early times, remained at the elementary level. In the Carolingian period, the cathedral school went beyond these limits to a form which is the basis of the scholastic system in the West. The teaching of the Psalms and plain-song continued, but new subjects were added such as grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, and the canon law. In some cases, the master in charge called in assistants to help teach certain subjects, but this was not the rule, and probably occurred only at the schools which acquired a considerable reputation, such as Chartres or Paris. Most of the cathedral schools existed with one or two

masters teaching most of the subjects. By the twelfth century this was not sufficient, and other churches were obliged to establish schools. Little by little, a network of schools was established, many of which employed private masters. Some of these schools gave rise to the first universities.

It was the specialization of theology and law which gave the medieval educational system its definitive form -- theology ceased to be taught in the same school as the arts. This break led to a system of specialization which has continued into the twentieth century.

> From the thirteenth century on, there was separate instruction in the arts, which in the university towns gave its name to a Faculty--the Faculty of Arts-- and which, like a propaedeutic, prepared pupils for admission to the higher schools: theology, canon law, civil law and medicine. The universities of the thirteenth century finally established this hierarchy of knowledge. They generally consisted of at least two Faculties: a Faculty of Arts and one or more higher Faculties; they were never confined to the Faculty of Arts alone. For the arts were not sufficient in themselves and merely prepared the way for a different sort of education. 10

The university then helped to effect a complete separation between the arts on one hand and theology and law on the other. Instruction in the higher, more specialized subjects tended to be concentrated in university towns inhabited by famous teachers. The arts were not always absorbed by the universities, and arts schools often existed where there was no university. These schools multiplied at the end of the Middle Ages. The result of this

process was that instruction in the arts was given all over the country, but instruction in law, medicine and theology was limited to the university.

The Structure of Education

While in the early Middle Ages the school was confined to the clerics and the religious, toward the end of the period education extended to ever wider sections of the population. Latin was the language of the clerks and their professional schools, and was taught as a living language rather than as a cultural one, a language as necessary to the clerk as to the man of law and the administrator. It was not until the eighteenth century that it became an element of general education.

In the early medieval period, there was an absence of primary education. This knowledge of basic skills in reading, writing and language was acquired at home or in apprenticeship to a trade.[11] Much of education in this time revolved around the study of Latin, " the usefulness of the school began with Latin, and it stopped at the level of Latin studies necessary for the purpose to which the pupil intended to put them. The incumbent of a country parish could be satisfied with learning the liturgical texts by heart; a future attorney had to be more demanding." [12] The later medieval school provided some elementary instruction in Latin, but this was limited to the Latin of the Psalter from from which students were taught reading.

The Latin schools were often affiliated with the universities toward the end of the Middle Ages. In England, for instance, it was customary to begin the study of the arts at the nearest Latin school, which were later called "grammar schools." It was only after leaving the grammar school, at about fourteen, that the English boy was sent to Oxford or Cambridge. In principle, philosophy and the sciences were reserved for the universities. By 1600, the system was set: the grammar schools prepared students for the universities, and the universities had monopoly in the instruction of philosophy and logic, prerequisites to the specialties of law, theology and medicine. In England as well as Germany, philosophy became the embryo of higher cultural education. In France, however, philosophy was not separated from grammar, nor confined to the university level. It was part of the curriculum of the grammar schools, and was divided into "logic and physic." [12]

The Absence of Gradation

In the medieval school, there was not a graduated system of education, in which the student began with the easiest subject of study. The study of grammar is one salient example. Today we regard grammar as an elementary subject. But in ancient times it was a science, something comparable to what we now call philology. The Middle Ages inheried this concept of grammar, and it constituted part of the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics). Even the most advanced students studied grammar.

In the twelfth century, historians tell us, John of Salisbury attended classes in grammar between the ages of sixteen and twenty. Grammar was a science as well as a rudimentary subject, and it was studied by the twenty-year-old as well as the ten-year old. The text did not change either, "it was always the same grammar, with examples from the same authors of the Byzantine Empire." [13] However, when John of Salisbury was only fourteen, he spent most of his time studying the commentaries on Aristotle's Organon by Boethius and Porphyrus, which took him over two years. At twenty, after studying his grammar for three years, he went through the cycle again, learning the arts, the sciences, and rhetoric. He finished with logic, and returned to the study of Aristotle's Organon. He later returned to university to study theology. The point is that his education followed no coherent plan, and there is no sign of gradation in his studies: dialectics, grammar, review of the trivium, the quadrvium(the sciences), review of rhetoric, and logic. The order, in fact, could have been entirely different, as there was no traditional succession. Every master arranged his program according to his preference, and without regard of the subject's difficulty.

By 1366, with the reform of the University of Paris, there was a tendency toward gradation of the curricula. The program of university examinations was the following: grammar, logic (with included Aristotle's Organon as well as his works on physics) and the arts (which included Aristotle's Ethics). While we can see some gradation here, it is vague. "What we really have here

is a classification corresponding to more systematic teaching, to a better planned system of examinations designed to impose subjects for the licentiate's degree and the mastership which were not also required of the candidate for the baccalaureate. Moreover, this distribution of the various subjects between the three examinations prejudged neither their difficulty... nor the order in which they would be taught... to all intents and purposes they became different formalities of one and the same examination." [14]

The Mixing of Age Groups

In addition to the absence of gradation in the curricula, and the oral method of repetition, there was another salient feature of medieval education-- the lack of differentiation by age.

The child generally began school around the age of seven. In the fourteenth century, in England, Chaucer depicts a young schoolboy: "Now among the children there was a widow's son, a little cleric seven years of age who was accustomed to go to school every day." [15] In Paris in 1339, the youngest pupils were eight years old. [16] Before the twelfth century, the child did not remain in school after puberty. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the rise of universities, the boy remained in school until the age of twenty.

However, age did not hold the same importance in the Middle Ages as it does now. Aries states that the correspondence between age and studies was a concept that was foreign to the Middle

Ages. The lack of attention to age continued into the seventeenth century.

In the medieval school, all ages were mixed together into the same classroom. Generally, the master hired a room (at a fee which was fixed in university towns) or taught in the church. Before the fourteenth century, the students sat on the floor, but in the fourteenth century, "a few benches were provided," an innovation which encountered some opposition at first. [17] The class was comprised of boys and men of all ages, from ten to twenty (or more) years. Robert of Salisbury wrote about the classroom that he observed in the twelfth century, " I saw the students in the school, their numbers were great(there could have been two hundred or more). I saw there men of diverse ages: pueros, adolescentes, juvenes, senes"-- that is to say, all ages of life, as there was no word to denote an adult; one went straight from juvenes to senes. [18] In the fifteenth century, we find a similar references, "Good pupils, with open minds, whether you be old or young, mature or green," [19] This mixing of ages continued out of school. Most students lived with the master himself, a priest, or a canon, on terms which were similar to those of an apprenticeship. Here too, the young and old mingled together.

As soon as the child started going to school, he immediately entered the world of adults. This was one of the most characteristic features of medieval society. It was not until the end of the

Middle Ages that there was a conscious differentiation of the ages.

Not only ages were mixed in medieval education, but also occupations. In the sixteenth century, Etienne Pasquier gave a description of the disorderliness that characterized the medieval system: "studies were in a jumble... the rooms on one side were leased to students and on the other to whores, so that under the same roof there was a school of learning together with a school of whoring." [20]

The Beginnings of Elementary Education

In France, before the seventeenth century, there was no term for elementary education. In this era, the grammar school was connected with the college, and there was no distinction between primary and secondary education. Furthermore, the grammar schools were not of the same nature, some taught singing and grammar, while others taught the liberal arts. We can get a picture of what these schools were like from Chaucer's 'Prioress's Tale.' " The little school for Christians was held at the far end of the street; and a crowd of children of Christian birth used to come here who from year to year learnt at school what was usually taught there, namely to sing and to read as children do in their tender years." [21] The children learned to read from the Psalter or a book of hours, but before learning to read they learned the liturgical prayers by heart, by repeating them in

unison (as in the Jewish heder and Koranic schools).

> Now, among these children there was a widow's son, who was seven years old and usually came to school every day. This little child, sitting with his little book in front of him, was learning his ABC when he suddenly heard the singing of the Alma Redemptoris which other children were reading from thier antiphonaries. The child made so bold as to come nearer and nearer(to those who were singing) and listened to the words, and to the notes as well, until he knew the verse by heart. He did not know what the Latin meant, for he was very young... (He asks an older boy to explain it to him) I cannot explain it to you, I am learning singing but I have little grammar. 22

These school should not be thought of as primary schools, since they were intended for choirboys, but as the beginnings of the Latin or grammar school. Before the fourteenth century, the cathedral schools held a monopoly on teaching, but gradually gave permission for singing and the rudiments of education to be taught outside their own schools. However, this teaching was not to go beyond basic Latin texts, "the Donat." In 1325 we find the following warning issued to a private teacher: "Roger, Rector of the schools of Saint-Jean-en-Vallee, was warned at a capitular meeting, by virtue of the privileges of the Church in Chartres, that he was forbidden to instruct children, in his house or elsewhere, except only in the great schools of Chartres, which lie within the jurisdiction of the Chancellor of Chartres, in books or book-learning which go beyond the Donat." [23] The teacher repeated the offense, and was excommunicated. Thus, in the sixteenth century, only Latin schools existed, and their course offerings differed widely.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the little

schools" began to spring up, under the proviso (rarely observed) that "the masters shall not receive girls in their schools, nor the mistresses boys in theirs." [24] The curriculum of the little school included singing and the rudiments of grammar (now "vulgarized) as well as the study of etiquette. The manual of etiquette that was used was a reading book, an "example" of handwriting, and a handbook of good manners rolled into one. While this manual was foreign to the medieval scholastic tradition, its ancestry can be traced to the medieval knight's apprenticeship in life and good manners.[25] The Latin school, which was restricted to clerics, did not monopolize all forms of learning. The child often became an apprentice, and left his home for another house, where he had to learn the manners, or the trade, of the head of the family. The rules and morality of the lay culture were usually learned through the apprenticeship. It was in this environment that the rules and literature of good manners was born. The hints were at first oral, then written down and finally printed. These manuals were passed around for the benefit of the young squires and pages of the household.[26]

When the Latin school spread to middle-class and noble circles, it made use of these manuals of etiquette. It was neglected in the colleges and universities, but moved from the sphere of domestic and family apprenticeship to the curriculum of the little schools.

<u>The Guild of 'Master Scribes'</u>

Once the pupil learned "to read well from the manual of etiquette," he was to become a scribe and learn to write. But writing in medieval times was more than a means of communication, it was a technique or an "art." This art was not taught in school, but was the monopoly of the guild of master-scribes, the "famous writing-masters." In the Latin school, no stress was placed on the quality of the student's writing. Before the sixteenth century, writing was even regarded with suspicion. It was thought to be necessary to learn things by heart. The theology student was not allowed to have a Bible during his first year, and the master was forbidden to use notes during his class. That way one could be certain that he knew his subject. As late as 1596, teaching was primarily oral, and writing was used as a form of shorthand for notetaking during sermons and classes.[27]

The "science of writing" corresponded to what we now ask of typewriting: the transcribing of texts in the most legible manner possible. Clerks not only had to be able to write, but also to "write to perfection." Thus, calligraphy was an art which demaned considerable manual skill, an art inherited from the old manuscript artists. In the memoirs of Jean Rou, (1643) he writes about his precocious skill: " I had so supple a hand and fingers so agile that if it had not been decided to make a scholar of me, I should have been trained to become nothing less than a perfect master-scribe." [28] This science also consisted of the deciphering of manuscripts that had become illegible, but were still legally binding and still governed public and private relationships. The scribes were also accountants, trained in

"book-keeping and foreign exchange." The school of the writing-master was therefore akin to a technical school, teaching a craft which was tied to a manual skill. These schools differed from other forms of education in two important ways: they taught girls as well as boys, and they were attended by adolescents as well as little children. Aries writes about an engraving which depicts a writing school:

> A curious engraving of the early eighteenth century shows a writing lesson in progress: some big fellows are present, and some of them are wearing swords, which would suggest that this form of tuition was not despised by families who either belonged or aspired to the nobility. It is in any case certainly no infants' class. The number of youths seems greater and the ages more mixed than in even the heterogeneous lower classes of the colleges. 29

The Education of Girls

This diversity, however, held its "dangers" for the girls who joined the class. One canon, a Claude Joly, wanted the scribes to be forbidden to teach girls, and the expounded on the "danger of putting girls with big boys, as those who go to the Master Scribes usually are." The scribes reply to the suggestion was:"It is necessary for girls to be able to read, and there are some who are capable of learning to write to perfection and who should not be deprived of that advantage." Joly retorted:"It is not necessary for girls to be able to write to perfection, but it is necessary for them to be in a safe place above suspicion." 30

Until the seventeenth century, there was no education for girls; either they stayed at home with the women of the house or in a convent, receiving only religious instruction. However,

in the first half of the seventeenth century, people became concerned about their education, and religious orders, such as the Ursulines, devoted themselves to the education of young girls. The scribes proposed to give girls a real technical education, which could be used in home life or to assist in running a business. Seventeenth century attitudes alloted women an important role in the administration of the estate and the supervision of certain incomes (poultry, eggs, etc.) [31]

One of the other important elements of the instruction given by the master-scribes was the almost adult nature of the teaching, comparable to the manual education given by craftsmen to their apprentices. English education of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often referred to these workshop schools. In 1596 The English Schoolmaster was published, a manual of seventy-nine pages in English, not Latin. It went through twenty-six editions between 1596 and 1656. The work consisted of thirty-nine pages on the alphabet and spelling, eighteen pages of the catechism, prayers and Psalms; five pages on chronology, two pages of examples of writing; two pages of arithmetic, and nearly twenty pages on vocabulary. The book was designed for self-teachers of all ages: " the unskilful of what age so ever"-- who after reading it "may easily both understand any hard English words, which they shall be in Scriptures, sermons or elsewhere hear or read; and also be made to use the same aptly themselves." It was also supposed to allow craftsmen of little or no education to conduct school. The author, in the following passage, describes the humble workshop

schools: " Thou mayest sit on thy shop-board, at thy books or thy needle, and never hinder any work to hear thy scholars, after thou hast once made this little book familiar to thee." [32] Thus the artisan would sometimes gather his apprentices around him and teach them the elements of reading, writing along with his craft.

In 1516, the artist Holbein painted a sign showing on one side an evening class, with the master and his adult pupils, and on the other side a class for children, with the master and his boys on the left, the mistress and her girls on the right. The inscription reads:

> He who wishes to learn to read and write German by the quickest method, and who does not know a single letter, is informed that here he will be able to learn all that he needs to know of writing and reading. And if anyone is so foolish that he does not manage to learn it, I shall have taught him gratis and for nothing and he shall not owe me anything. Whoever you may be, burgesses, artisans, labourers, women or girls, and whatever your needs, he who comes here will be faithfully instructed for a reasonable fee. On the other hand, children, little boys and little girls, will pay every term as is customary. [3]

Thus, what distinguished the little schools of the seventeenth century from the workshop schools of the sixteenth century and from those of the master-scribes was not so much the curricula as the student's ages. In the little schools the pupils were no longer adolescents or adults, but children between the ages of seven and twelve. An inspector made the following observation: "Children cannot be sent to school before the age of seven or eight... At the age of eleven or twelve, they are sent to work." [34] Adult

education, widespread in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, disappeared in the seventeenth century, and its place was taken by an education which was confined to children. It is at this period of time that we begin to see specialization of the ages and the distinctions between child, adolescent and adult.

The Education of the Poor

In the late sixteenth century an idea appeared in England and France which originated in the religious feeling common to the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. In those circles affected by the new piety it was felt that the poor children should be given the religious instruction previously reserved for the choirboys of the Latin school, as well as reading and writing. A new curriculum developed for children who could not follow the Latin cycle. In England, the founder of one such school explained the philosophy: "We have a great number of poor people in our parish who are not able to keep their children at grammar. But we are desirous to have them taught the principles of Christian Religion and to write, read and cast accounts, and so put them forth to prentice.." [35]

There was also a trend to make the Latin schools a little more utilitarian, and we find one founder advocating that arithmetic be taught to the students, especially to those who showed a greater aptitude for trade than for study. This in turn gave rise to schools where the classical humanities were abandoned in favor of the modern curriculum -- reading and writing, in some cases

arithmetic, and a manual trade, spinning or cobbling.

The same thing happened in France, despite the difference in religion. In 1543 the city council of Rouen decided on the subject of the poor that "in order to train children from childhood in morality and reading and writing (all these went together), so that by this means they shall be prepared for service at an earlier age and in a more agreeable manner" they should take in " beggar-children, both boys and girls, from the age of five, to give them instruction in decency and morality and reading and writing." [36]

In Paris, at the height of this movement, priests founded free schools for the poor in their parishes. The indignant Claude Joly wrote, " The priests of Paris say that it is a right attached to their office and that it is even their duty to give instruction to their parishoners, children as well as fathers, and that consequently they can keep school... It goes without saying that the charity of the worthy priests with regard to their schools costs them nothing at all." [37] Joly's objection was that the schools which had been established for beggar-children were soon attracting a well-to-do clientele of craftsmen, merchants and burgesses, to the loss of the traditional schools. When school inspectors visited the charity schools they "did not find the filth and rags of the poor beggar children of whom the priests say that they are composed." In another school the inspector found "over two hundred girls... most of them well dressed, neither dirty nor in rags: which is why all the girls' schools in the surrounding districts are at present deserted. It is proverbial that when something is done free, everybody wants it, rich and

poor alike." [38] Thus the charity school, where the teaching was done by the masters of a religious brotherhood, who were more qualified than the lay-masters of the district schools, attracted children from well-to-do homes as well as poor children.

The college, the ancestor of our secondary school, also drew some of its pupils from the lower classes. The colleges were originally intended for the scholarship boys, but these later became privileges which were sold like offices. In principle, the colleges were not free. The master received the fees direct from his students, the payments made by the pupils he lodged in his house, or by the foundation scholarship. The fees were not strictly extracted, and the tendency was toward free education. However, the colleges full of lower-class students disappeared. By the eighteenth century, secondary education was denied to the children of the lower classes. It was decided that education should be confined to the rich, for if extended to the poor, it would turn them against manual labor and the whole of society would suffer. This was the exact opposite of the opinion held by the seventeenth-century reformers, who saw in education the only possible means of instilling a sense of morality in the poor, and of turning them into good and productive workers. In the eighteenth century, the little schools were no longer reserved for the lower classes either-- the coexistence of the social classes in a single space was no longer tolerated. Aries links this tendency towards distinguishing and separating with the philosophy of the time, the Cartesian revolution. [39]

The Monastic Schools

While Christian culture and education were greatly influenced by Graeco-Roman learning, the early Church became suspicious of this training. In 529, by the decree of Justinian, the pagan schools were closed. Christian education was then without rival, and found its chief expression in the monastic schools.

The trend toward monasticism arose during the third century, when Rome's corruption was at its peak. It stemmed from the desire of a few within the Church for a deeper religious life. At this point in its development, Christianity was no longer confined to small, secret groups, but was represented in all forms of society. It had become increasingly secularized, and even the clergy had yielded to the debauchery of the times. The early monks (from the Greek "monos", alone) felt that the only salvation rested in fleeing from the world and its temptations and taking refuge in an isolated life of devotion.

The Benedictine order controlled most of the monasteries of Europe. While most remained independent, nearly all the monasteries adopted the "rule" as Benedict himself wrote it. The rule consisted of seventy-three chapters, and dealt with the organization, discipline and administrative functions of the monastery. The forty-eight chapter declares:

> Idleness is the great enemy of the soul, therefore the monks should always be occupied, either in manual labor or in holy reading. The hours for these occupations should

> be arranged according to the seasons, as follows: From Easter to the first of October, the monks shall go to work at the first hour and labor until the fourth hour, and the time from the fourth to the sixth hour shall be spent in reading. After dinner, which comes at the sixth hour, they shall lie down and rest in silence; but any one who wishes may read, it he does so not to disturb any one else. Nones shall be observed a little earlier, about the middle of the eighth hour, and the monks shall go back to work, laboring until vespers. 40

By the requirement of manual labor, Benedict hoped to keep the young and active monks from temptation and brooding, but it was also by this labor that swamps were drained, forests cleared, and cities were formed anew. On the other hand, the requirement of daily reading preserved some semblance of learning, and revived an almost lost literary education.

The Libraries and Manuscript Reproduction

For the monks to read, manuscripts had to be collected and reproduced. Hence the monasteries became the depositories of ancient literature and learning, and the interest in care and collection of books increased as monasticism developed. In fact, the library became so important a feature of the monastic life that in 1170 a prior declared, "a monastery without a library is like a castle without an armory." 41

The multiplication of manuscripts for the sake of obtaining duplicates for the monks soon became part of the work of monasteries. Those who were especially skilled, or too weak for manual labor, were allowed to put in their seven hours in making copies of manuscripts. In the convents that arose for women, this was the chief form of labor. While much of the work may have been done

"automatically," that is with more regard for neatness and ornamentation than content, it was intended that the meaning of the works should have its intellectual and moral influence upon the copyists.

The monasteries did not confine themselves to copying the works of others. In fact, the monks were the authors of a vast amount of original literature. Most of the writings were on religious topics, such as commentaries on the Scriptures, but they also wrote histories of the Church, the monasteries and the times.

Ideals and Aims of Monastic Education

Life in the monastery was a form of education itself, but even in Benedict's "rule" itself there was no provision for anything more formal. However, since the monks were required to read, form libraries, and copy manuscripts, it is not surprising that regular schools soon formed. By the ninth century nearly all the monasteries had schools for the children of the neighborhood, and as time passed, many prescriptions concerning education were added to the Benedictine code. Literary education was at first recognized and then emphasized until all the monasteries of repute were known for the learning and education that they provided.

While some importance was attached to learning and intellectual development, the aim of monastic education was the discipline and repression of the body. These ideals are summed up in the oath that the monk takes before his admission:

> I, brother (name), a humble monk of the monastery of St. Denis in France, in the diocese of Paris, in the name of God, the Virgin Mary, St. Denis, St. Benedict, and all the saints, and of the abbot of this monastery,

> do promise to keep the vows of obediance, chastity, and poverty. I also promise, in the presence of witnesses, steadfastness and conversion of life, according to the rules of this monastery and the traditions of the holy fathers. 42

These ideals-- obediance, chastity, and poverty-- represented the various practices which were deemed necessary in monastic life. It was only by the practice of these virtues that the soul could be purified and saved.

Monastic education also opposed some fundamental obligations of the existing society-- allegiance to the state, care of the family, and ecomonic provision for the future. [43]

The Monastic Course of Study

In the first monastic schools, the education was designed to prepare for only the bare duties of the monastic life. The monks were required to learn to read in order to study the Bible, to write so that they could copy the sacred books, and to calculate for the purpose of computing the Church holidays. By the time of Benedict, the Christians no longer felt that pagan culture was threatening, and introduced the Graeco-Roman learning into their course of study. It is known as the'Seven Liberal Arts."

This course of study was used by both the monastery schools and other medieval schools. In many ways, this course of studies can be likened to the one set out by Plato, whose scheme of education included two groups of subjects, -- the lower, consisting of gymnastics, muscial practice, and letters, and the higher, made

up of arithmetic, geometry, musical theory, and astronomy. In Greek and Roman days, these were combined with the studies of the sophists--rhetoric and dialectic. It is known, for example, that the Roman Varro (116-27 B.C.), when writing about the Hellenic curriculum, included grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. In some cases, medicine and architecture were also added. [43] Even St. Augustine (354-430) justified these studies on the ground of "despoiling the Egyptians," and wrote treatises upon all of them, except astronomy. Boethius also made a major contribution in his writings on logic and ethics, and on arithmetic, geometry, and music. From the sixth century on, the seven liberal arts were recognized as the "orthodox secular studies preparatory to theology." [44] Before the twelfth century, grammar and rhetoric were stressed, but after that they were pushed aside by the development of dialectic and mathematics, as cogency in thought and argument became increasingly important with the advent of Scholasticism.

The Methods of Teaching

A general method of teaching was that of question and answer. An illustration of the drill of the times is the following, applied to the first work of the Aeneid:

> What part of speech is arma? A noun.
> Of what sort? Common.
> Of what class? Abstract.
> Of what gender? Neuter.
> Why neuter? Because all nouns whose plurals end in a are neuter.
> Why is not the singular used? Because this noun expresses many different things. 45

As copies of the books were scarce, the instructor often resorted to dictation, explaining the meaning as he read, and the students took the passage down upon their tablets. As to the texts, the leading works on grammar were written by the Roman grammarians, Donatus and Priscian. Other texts dealt with rhetoric, the art of prose writing, arithmetic and geometry. Dialectic was generally based on a few works of Aristotle, and the texts on astronomy consisted of the treatises of Ptolemy and Aristotle.

Thus, monasticism arose from a protest against vice and corruption, and tried to create a deeper religious life. It also preserved ancient culture and brought forth new religious works, continuing the ideals of the classical schools while adding its own aims of education.

The Medieval Universities

The medieval schools arose from the monastic schools and the old cathedral schools toward the end of the Middle Ages. They were also influenced by contact with Islamic science and culture and Greek philosophy through the Crusades and the Moors in Spain. The development of scholasticism, the interest in dialectic and theological discussions, and an increasing knowledge of the Orient were other decisive forces. The increasing interest in secular knowledge also helped create the atmosphere that was conducive to the rise of universities.

The oldest of the universities was at Salerno, near Naples. It was primarily a school of medicine, and by the eleventh century it was the leading place for medical study. It reputation was furthered by Robert, Duke of Normandy, who came there after the first Crusade to be cured of a wound. He, and his knights, helped spread the fame of the school to all parts of Europe.[46] Salerno was never chartered as a regular university, and did not become a model for other universities. By the fourteenth century, it began to decline.

The interest in medicine in the south was paralleled by the attention to law in the north. By the twelfth century, Bologna became famous for its school of civil law. Previously, law had been linked to rhetoric, but during the twelfth century the law students were differentiated from those in liberal arts, and Bologna was known as the great school of civil law. It was

chartered as a university in 1158 by Frederick Barbarossa. By the thirteenth century, it was estimated that five thousand students attended the university. The liberal arts, civil and canon law, medicine and theology were all taught by 1360.

The development of universities in France and England stemmed from the interest in dialectic and scholasticism that was predominant in these areas of Europe. The university of Paris, which grew out of the cathedral school of Notre Dame, was the most famous of all universities in medieval times. This was due, in part, to the eloquence and brillance of Abelard, who lectured on dialectic, theology, and the importance of reason and free discussion.

Abelard became the progenitor of the university, although it was not organized until a generation after his death. It was first recognized by Louis VII in 1180, but only received full recognition in 1200 when law and medicine were added to the curriculum.

Bologna and Paris became the model universities, and others were organized along their general plans. At Bologna the students were usually mature men, and had entire charge of the government of the university. They selected the masters, determined the fees, the length of the term, and the time of commencement. In Paris, the students were younger, and the government was in the hands of the masters. Consequently, new foundations in the North, where Paris was the model, usually became "master-universities," while those in the South were "student-universities."

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it became

fashionable to charter existing organizations or found new ones. In England, Oxford began in the second half of the twelfth century, and Cambridge at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The first German university, Prague, was not instituted until 1348, but before the end of the century, Vienna, Heidelberg and Cologne had sprung up. By the time of the Renaissance, at least seventy-nine universities were in existence in Europe. Unlike the old monastery schools, the universities were located not in secluded places, but in centers of major cities.

University Privileges

A large number of exemptions, immunities, and other special privileges were conferred upon the universities. In many cases, they had courts of their own, and complete autonomy in all their internal affairs. Thse privileges were granted in the Habita of Barbarossa.

> We, from our piety, have granted these privileges to all scholars who travel for the sake of study, and especially to the professors of divine and sacred laws; namely, that they may go in safety to the places in which the studies are carried on, both they themselves and their messengers, and may dwell there in security. For we think it fitting that, during good behavior, those should enjoy our approval and protection, who, by their learning, enlighten the world, and mold the life or our subjects to the obediance of God, and of us, his minister... Therefore, we declare by this general and perpetual law that hereafter no one shall be so rash as to inflict any injury on scholars, or to impose any fine upon them on account of an offense committed in their former province. And let it be known to violators of this decree, and to local rulers at the time who have neglected to punish such violations, that a fourfold restitution of property shall be exacted from all who are guilty, and that the brand of infamy shall be affixed to them by the law, and

> they shall be forever deprived of their offices.
> Moreover, if any one shall presume to bring a suit against the scholars on any ground, the choice in the matter shall be given to the scholars, who may summon the accusers to appear before their professors or the bishop of the city, to whom we have given jurisdiction in these circumstances. But if, indeed, the accuser shall attempt to take the scholar before another judge, even if his cause be most just, he shall lose his suit because of such attempt. 47

These provisions were repeated for various universities by other monarchs. Persons connected with the medieval universities were relieved from all taxation, and, except in times of emergency, from military service. When the University of Heidelberg was founded, Rupert I made the following grants to masters and students:

> When they come to the said institution, while they remain there, and also when they return from it to their homes, they may freely carry with them, throughout all the lands subject to us, all things which they need while pursuing their studies, and all the goods necessary for their support, without any duty, levy, imposts, tolls, excises, or other exactions, whatever. 48

The masters were allowed to lecture anywhere, or could suspend their lectures when university rights were infringed. Cambridge, in 1209, got its start through an exodus from Oxford. Oxford, in 1229, met with an increase in professors when HenryIII promised the scholars of Paris:

> If it shall be your pleasure to transfer yourselves to our kingdom of England and to remain there to study, we will for this purpose assign to you cities, boroughs, towns, whatsoever you may wish to select, and in every fitting way will cause you to rejoice in a state of liberty and tranquillity. 49

In some cases, the consequences of these privileges were that the students had "become uncleanly, bad-mannered, and immoral." This was especially the case with the wandering students, who,

like the friars, begged their way from university to university. But they did not act like the monks, and many became "rollicking, indolent, shiftless, and even vicious, and many found the life so attractive that they made it permanent and organized a mock order or guild of wandering students known as vagantes or goliardi.[50] One lasting feature of this degeneracy was the production of jovial songs. The following "Song of the Open Road," will serve as a good example of this form of student life:

> We in our wandering
> Blithesome and squandering,
> Eat to satiety, drink to propriety;
> laugh till our sides we split,
> Rags on our hides we fit;
> Craft's in the bone of us,
> Fear 'tis unknown to us;
> Brother catholical,
> Man apostolical
> Say what you will have done,
> What you adk 'twill be done!
> Folk, fear the toss of the
> Horns of philosophy!
> Here comes a quadruple,
> Spoiler and prodigal
> As the Pope bade us do,
> Brother to brother's true:
> Brother, best friend adieu!
> Now I must part from you!
> Tata, tantara, teino. 51

Organization of the Universities

The nature of the medieval university was similar to that of the guilds. This is shown in its complete name, Universitas Magistrorum et Scholarium (the body of masters and scholars). The term universitas did not imply an institution where everything is taught, but it was used to refer to any legal corporation, only later

was it limited to an institution of learning.[52] It signified a company of persons that had assembled for study, and had organized for the sake of protection. Thus, it did not refer to a place or school at all, but to the teachers and scholars. When it was desired to express the abstract notion of an academic institution, studium generale was the phrase used, as contrasted to the studium particulare, which taught only a few pupils from the neighborhood. The students of each studium generale grouped themselves according to the part of the world from which they came, and the charters were sometimes conferred upon the nationes (nations) separately. These nations soom combined for the sake of greater privilege and power. Every year each nation chose its chief, who was called the consiliarius (councilor). It was his duty to represent the nation, guard its rights, and control its members.[53]

On the side of the masters, the university became organized into faculties. This was applied to a special department of knowledge, and then applied to a group of masters teaching a particular range of subjects. Hence arose the faculties of arts, law, medicine, and theology. In most universities, law was the leading faculty. Each faculty came to elect a decanus (dean) as its representative.

The Courses of Study

The content of the courses in each faculty differed greatly in the various universities, and was modified from time to time even in the same university. The courses in the arts used some

texts mentioned earlier--Donatus, Boethius, Euclid, Ptolemy, and other standard works. There were also additions of Arabic treatises on mathematics and dialectic. Aristotle's works were of great importance; the following works were prescribed in Paris:

> The treatises of Aristotle on logic, both old and new, and the two Priscians are to be read in the regular course. On feast-days nothing is to be read except philosophy, rhetoric, the Ethics, and the Topics. The books of Aristotle on Metaphysics or Natural Philosophy or the abridgments of these works, are not to be read. 53

This course of study did not include history or modern languages and literature, and little attention was devoted to Roman classics, and outside of Aristotle, none at all to Greek.

The Methods of Study

The training of a medieval student consisted not in acquiring the above subjects, but in learning to debate upon them. The acquisition of the subject matter was accomplished through lectures, which consisted in reading and explaining the text under examination. This was due, in part, to the scarcity of manuscripts, and the difficulty of purchasing them. Each work consisted of a text and the commentaries upon it. In some cases, the glosses had grown to such proportions as to overshadow the original. One jurist described his procedure at Bologna:

> First, I shall give you summaries of each chapter before I proceed to the text; secondly, I shall give you as clear and explicit a statement as I can of the purport of each Law; thirdly, I shall read the text with a view to correcting it; fourthly, I shall briefly repeat the contents of the Law; fifthly, I shall solve apparent contradictions, adding any general principles of Law, and any distinctions or subtle and useful problems arising out of the Law with their solutions. 54

The training in debate was furnished by means of formal disputations, in which one student was pitted against another. In these contests, which were conducted in Latin, the authorities were cited, but the debaters had to add arguments of their own. Debating had been instituted to afford some acuteness and vigor of intellect, and compared with the memorizing of lectures, it served its purpose well. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, the aim was to win and gain applause without regard for truth or consistency.[55]

Thus, in conclusion, a number of themes appear in medieval education which have also appeared in traditional Jewish, Koranic and Indian education-- attention on oral learning and recitation, a mixing of age groups and a lack of gradation, and an emphasis on debate and argumentation. Throughout these traditions, especially in their "sacred" aspects, the role of the text is central. Yet one important difference that emerges in medieval education is the absence of the idea of childhood. While this may have been true to a lesser extent in other traditions, it emerges most clearly in Europe in the Middle Ages. Yet there is a clear trend that emerges in development of medieval education, perhaps reflecting the philosophy of the time -- an increasing interest in differentiation and separation, resulting in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a notion of childhood, differentiation among age groups, gradation in subject matter and in the classroom itself. It was this move toward distinguishing and separating which laid the foundation of the modern system of education.

1. Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood: A social history of family life. Trans. R. Baldick (New York: Random House, 1962) p.128

2. Ibid. p. 33 This was seen not only in painting, but in sculpture and other art forms as well.

3. Ibid. p. 129

4. Ibid from Le Malade Imaginaire, Act III, Scene III

5, Ibid

6. Ibid. from Le Grand Proprietaire de toutes choses, 1556

7. Ibid, p. 138

8. Ibid, for a fuller description of Koranic learning, see my paper on traditional Islamic education, spring 1982

9. Ibid p. 139

10. Aries, P. 140. This point will be covered in more depth later on in the paper.

11. Ibid. p. 140

12. Ibid. p. 142

13. Ibid, p. 146

14. Ibid

15. Ibid, from H. Ferte, Des grades universitaires de l'ancienne faculte des Arts, 1868.

16. Ibid . p. 151 It is interesting to note that these ages are younger than in Jewish and Islamic traditional education.

17. Aries, p. 153

18. Ibid, p. 153. Aries draws this quote from R. of Salisbury, De vanitate mundi, P.L. 176, col. 709

19. Aries, p. 153, this quote is from Michault, Doctrinal du temps present, edited by T. Walton, 1931. This mixing of ages can also be seen in the Jewish educational system as well.

20. Aries, p. 156, from Etienne Pasquier, Recherches de la France, p. 820.

21. Ibid, p. 286 From Chaucer, The Prioress's Tale, in The Canturbury Tales.

22. Ibid

23. Aries, p. 287

24. Ibid, p. 288

25. Ibid, p. 290

26. Aries, p. 291, F. Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660, 1908.

27. Ibid, p. 292

28. Ibid, p. 295, from Memories de Jean Rou, edited by F. Waddington, 1858.

29. Ibid. p. 297

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid, p. 298

32. Ibid, p. 299, F. Watson, op cit.

33. From Aries, p. 299, in the Basle Museum

34. Ibid, p. 300

35. Aries, p. 303, from Watson, p. 150

36. Aries, p. 304, from C. de Robillard de Beaurepaire,

37. Ibid, p. 304,

38. Ibid, p. 306.

39. Aries, p. 314

40. Frank Graves, A History of Education, New York: McMillan, 1910. p. 9

41. Graves, Ibid, p. 11

42. Ibid, p. 13

43. Ibid, p. 15

44. Ibid, p. 16

45. Graves, p. 19

46. Ibid, p. 77

47. Ibid, p. 82-83

48. Ibid, p. 84

49. Ibid, p. 85

50. Goliardi probably stems from the French gaillard (gay).

51. Ibid, p. 86

52. Ibid, p. 87

53. Graves, p. 88

54. Ibid, p. 89

55. Ibid, p. 92. It is interesting to note that debate played an important role in traditional Jewish education as well.